

The war in Korea

The Korean campaign, originally undertaken as a police action, has long ago settled into a nasty war. The UN retreat into the Pusan-Taegu beachhead has been skilfully completed and, on August 8, Americans and South Koreans within that beachhead were doing a good job of holding on. Hold on they must or be thrust into the sea with heavy losses and with the need before them of making a bloody landing, perhaps in the spring. In the southern sector of the beachhead UN troops were doing better than holding on. The American Infantry and Marine forces in that region were grinding forward in a slow offensive toward Chinju, the first American offensive of the war. The UN aim was obviously not a general advance all along the line; the troops were still too few for such a move. The limited objective, rather, was to keep off-balance the threatened North Korean offensive toward Pusan. Incidentally, if it could be accomplished, our troops would like also to drive the North Koreans out of Chinju and back away from the coastal plains that fan out toward the only real port still available to us. North of this offensive action, danger spots were developing. Stubborn North Koreans crossed the Nakdong River line at several points and were tenaciously holding on to their small bridgeheads. They were strongest, perhaps, in the regions of Pugong and Waegwan, the one southwest, the other northwest of the Taegu communications hub. The South Korean divisions holding down the northern part of the UN line were also under heavy pressure. The situation appears both crucial and hopeful. UN troops already in Korea should suffice to hang onto the beachhead. But their obvious need is a steady flow of trained reinforcements; and for the next few weeks and months trained reinforcements are going to be very hard to find. For many days yet, we cannot expect any sensationally good news from the battle front.

Nehru in midstream still

In New Delhi, India, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru got two speeches off his chest on two successive days. At the August 3 session of Parliament he directed a barrage of criticism at the West. The next day he turned his oratorical fire upon the Red leaders in the Kremlin. His basic criticism of the West seemed constructive enough. Mr. Nehru charged that we deal with Eastern peoples without making a real effort to understand them. In view of our recent red-faced confusion over Asiatic policy, the Prime Minister may be said to have hit the bull's-eye. When he lashed out at Russia on the second day, Mr. Nehru's words were satisfactory—up to a point. He warmly defended India's support of the United Nations' resolutions on Korea, and won parliamentary approval of the action. But the rest of his speech suggests that he is still trying to drift in the midstream of world politics without touching either bank. Despite the disillusioning experience of the past five years, Mr. Nehru still feels that it is possible to do business with the Kremlin. He maintains this attitude even though he knows—and has said so boldly—that communism has killed civil liberties wherever it has spread. How he reconciles his denial that

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India is neutral in the Korean aggression with his suggestion that the admission of Communist China to the UN be used as bait to end the war, the Western mind cannot understand. Nevertheless, India's Prime Minister, by his strong words on the Soviet denial of civil liberties, revealed that when the chips are down he will stand with us and not with the Kremlin.

Arm Japan and Germany

As one of the chief occupying Powers, the United States has a solemn moral obligation to protect Japan and Western Germany from aggression. As matters stand now, we can scarcely fulfill that obligation. It is no secret to the Russians that General MacArthur has dangerously weakened American forces in Japan in order to supply the Korean front. It is no secret, either, that the combined occupation forces in Western Germany could fight nothing more than a delaying action in the event the Kremlin struck in the West. Since we cannot defend either the Germans or the Japanese, we would appear to have an obligation to permit them to defend themselves. This rearmament could go forward under strict supervision, so that the victims of German and Japanese aggression need have no fears for *their* security. Better still, the rearming of the defeated countries might be incorporated into the defense plans of all the nations presently resisting Communist aggression, under the aegis of the UN. The time is long since past when this country should feel obliged to abide by any wartime or postwar agreements made with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, by its perfidy, has destroyed whatever validity such agreements once possessed.

A Vatican mission?

President Truman's announcement of August 3 that he was considering sending a regular diplomatic representative to the Vatican has stirred up again the ten-year-old debate that began in 1940 with Mr. Roosevelt's appointment of Myron Taylor as his personal representative to deal with Pope Pius XII. Entrenched American Protestants see in the appointment of a Minister to the Vatican some special favoring of the Catholic Church that contravenes their concept of the separation of Church and State. AMERICA has explained the error of this idea on more than one occasion (2/4, p. 514; 3/25, p. 714; 4/1, p. 744); but it seems worth while to do it again, at least

for those who have just come in. In appointing a Minister to the Holy See Mr. Truman would simply be doing what the governments of some thirty-odd states are doing—recognizing a diplomatic fact, the unique position of the Holy See in the world. It may be an unwelcome fact to many, but there it is, like the Himalayas or the Atlantic Ocean; and one can ignore it only by closing his eyes to reality. If President Truman is considering whether the interests of American foreign policy require him to take cognizance of this fact, he should not be subjected to pressures on religious grounds by either Catholics or Protestants. Mr. Truman was not elected to serve the interests of either the Catholic Church or the Protestant churches, but the interests of the United States. It is quite understandable that the Holy See should prefer a regular Minister to a personal representative of the President. Mr. Taylor made only thirteen visits to the Vatican in ten years—all on the initiative of the President of the United States. Most of the time he was not in Rome at all. If the Pope wishes to treat with the American Government, it is much easier if there is a diplomatic representative permanently in Rome. The Vatican's value in the worldwide struggle with Communist aggression is plain for all who have eyes to see; and the United States should not be hindered by partisan prejudice from benefiting by it.

The Spanish loan

The proposed Marshall Plan loan to Spain stayed another week in the news. Sen. Pat McCarran (D., Nev.) had started the ball rolling when he attached a rider to the \$34-billion omnibus appropriations bill proposing that \$100 million in Economic Cooperation Administration funds be loaned to Spain. Sen. Joseph O'Mahoney (D., Wyo.) introduced an amendment to the effect that this \$100 million be made available by the Export-Import Bank out of funds raised by the Treasury Department. This money was, however, to be administered by Paul G. Hoffman, director of the ECA. Senator McCarran's proposal, thus amended, was approved by the Senate on Aug. 1 by a vote of 65 to 15. Secretary of State Acheson, consistent with his policy of no Government loans for Spain (cf. AM. 5/20, p. 203), strongly voiced his objections to the Senate's action. President Truman, on Aug. 3, joined his protests to those of the Secretary of State. On Aug. 3 also, a few hours after the President

spoke, the Senate reaffirmed its stand on the Spanish loan by voting down a motion of Sen. Harley M. Kilgore (D., W. Va.) that would have reopened the whole question. This time, too, the vote was 65-15. The Senate acted from an admitted sense of "realism," perceiving the desirability of Spanish military bases in an increasingly warm war. They also remembered, perhaps, the aid Spain gave the Western allies in the last war when she used mostly words to favor the Axis and allowed 1,000 American airmen, escaped from France, to pass through her territory to Gibraltar. Spain's government is not perfect by American standards and we, too, would like some changes made. Yet neither is that government nearly so imperfect as some others with which the United States has been doing business. This ECA loan ought to be approved by the House and signed by President Truman. It's time that our self-penalizing discrimination against the government—and people—of Spain came to a halt.

Auto management rebuffs UAW

Did some of the biggest men in Detroit miss a good bet when they declined the July 20 invitation of Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, to discuss problems connected with the conversion of the auto industry to war production? Though the definitive answer to that one lies in the future, our guess now is that they did. Students of social problems have often pointed out that one of the chief reasons the Federal Government has grown so big in our times is that it has been obliged to undertake a good many tasks which needed doing but which were not being done. In some cases the State governments were at fault. In others, the citizens themselves, organized in their vocational groups, have abdicated responsibility. If we understand Mr. Reuther aright, he believes that there are all sorts of things which the auto industry could do for itself and for the country *if it were properly organized*. In this case, proper organization implies the establishing of a cooperative relationship between labor and management *on the industry level* to deal with problems that are the common concern of both groups. No doubt, management shied away from the Reuther proposal, as it has from similar proposals in the past, because it fears an invasion of its prerogatives. The suspicions engendered by two decades of industrial strife are not easily lulled. Nevertheless, auto management would do well to consider the alternative to industrial self-government, which is a continued growth of big government. Furthermore, the cooperation which management rightfully wants of labor is a two-way street. If management refuses to treat labor as a real partner in production, with an interest equal to its own, can it reasonably expect labor to be not only a constructive force in the industry, but a defender of our system of private enterprise as well? Is someone forgetting that it is communism we are fighting in Korea, and may soon be fighting all over the world?

The Weirton case

One of the great defects of the Wagner Act—as it is also of the Taft-Hartley Act—was the slowness and weakness of its sanctions against unfair labor practices by em-

AMERICA—National Catholic Weekly Review—Edited and published by the following Jesuit Fathers of the United States:

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employers. This was dramatically demonstrated again just two weeks ago in the Weirton Steel case. A subsidiary of the anti-union National Steel Corporation, Weirton ran afoul of the Wagner Act in 1937 and was charged with unfair labor practices. Four years later the National Labor Relations Board issued a cease-and-desist order. When the company disregarded this, the Board went into the courts and in May, 1943 obtained an enforcement order. The writ of the court no more ran at Weirton than did the original NLRB order. Finally, thirteen years after the original charges were filed, the law at last caught up with Weirton. On July 28, the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia adjudged Weirton, its parent corporation, seven executives and five union leaders to be in contempt. It ordered dissolved the independent union which Weirton has fostered. It ordered reinstated, with compensation for any pay lost, eighteen employees discharged for union activity. It told the company to pay the NLRB \$38,750 for the cost of the litigation, and another \$10,000 for the expenses of a special master appointed by the Court. It enjoined the company, finally, to cease all recognition of the Weirton Independent Union, Inc. Following the news of the Court's belated decision, the United Steelworkers of America announced that it would try once more to organize Weirton employees. This time, we hope, it will not be handicapped in its efforts by deputy sheriffs paid for by a rich corporation contemptuous of the law.

A community takes care of its own

The character of a civilization can be gauged by its care of children. This coming December will be held in Washington the Mid-Century White House Conference on Children and Youth, a meeting to consider "how we can develop in children the mental, emotional and spiritual qualities essential to individual happiness and to responsible citizenship." A group of Catholics in South Bend, Ind., have already given consideration to a small part of that high purpose. They asked themselves what could be done for the mentally retarded Catholic children of the community, abandoned as hopeless by psychiatrists, rejected by schools, shunned by other children, hidden (in some cases) by shamefaced parents. They certainly should be prepared for first Communion. The mothers of the children were grateful but dubious. Mrs. C. Robert Egry was the spark-plug of a project that enlisted the aid of St. Mary's College to supply teachers, the local chapter of the National Council of Catholic Women for funds, the Ladies of Notre Dame for transportation and the pastor of St. Joseph's Church for the use of the parish hall for meetings. Everyone felt rewarded when Msgr. John S. Sabo gave first Communion to the little ones; but everyone agreed that the project was only just begun. The center had become a place where the retarded children learned—in addition to catechism—how to do things for themselves, how to play, how to get along with others. The project must continue. The Council for Retarded Children of St. Joseph County, Indiana, is cooperating with this voluntary child-care program under Catholic inspiration. Such cooperation is heartening in a time when public-welfare services seem intent on monopolizing

the child-care field. We hope, for example, that the conferees at the December White House meeting will show a larger understanding of the place of voluntary agencies, especially those under religious auspices and inspiration, in America's social-welfare future. After all, the announcement of the White House Conference declares that it "bases its concern for children on the primacy of spiritual values, democratic practices and the dignity and worth of every individual."

Vernacular in the liturgy

"Many a doubt and query must be resolved before the question of the vernacular in the liturgy is fully clarified." AMERICA thus commented (7/22, p. 407) on an article by Father S. J. Gosling of the English Liturgy Society. Querying such doubts and removing the doubts behind many queries will be the task of the Vernacular Society when it meets during the annual Liturgical Week, to be held this year at Conception Abbey, Conception, Missouri, August 22-24. Founded at the 1946 Liturgical Conference at Denver, the Vernacular Society devotes itself to exploring (in accordance with the teachings of the Catholic Church and with due regard for ecclesiastical authority) "the possibilities of a greater use of the vernacular in the liturgical rites of the Church to the greater glory of God and the sanctification of souls." The group, which includes such well-known priests as Monsignori Morrison, Hillenbrand and Hellriegel and Fathers Westhoff and Reinhold, does not think of language in the liturgy primarily as a matter of attracting Protestants or of beautifying Catholic worship esthetically. Its principal interest lies in bringing closer to Catholics the rites of baptism, marriage, extreme unction, the churching of mothers, visitation of the sick, reception of converts, and funerals. If the faithful understood better the significance of these rites, their spiritual life would be immeasurably deepened and strengthened. Such is the thinking of the members of the Vernacular Society, who were heartened by the encouragement of the Holy Father's words in the encyclical *Mediator Dei*: "The use of the mother tongue in connection with several of the rites may be of much advantage to the people." Ultimate decisions in this matter rest, of course, with the Holy See. Meanwhile the Vernacular Society (506 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago 5, Ill.) continues its prayerful consideration of ways of helping the "silent and detached spectators" pitied by the Pope. Membership (including subscription to the *Bulletin*) is \$1 a year; life membership \$10.

A hidden helper

Very few outside of the AMERICA staff, past and present, know Brother Hubert Henry, S.J., who left us on August 3 to return to his native Canada, just two days short of completing twenty-six years in the service of AMERICA. In that quarter of a century he had wrestled with balky furnaces, frozen radiators, short-circuits and flooded drains, besides looking after the chapel, sorting the mail, and doing dozens of little chores that one notices only now when they are not done. He was the exemplar of the lay-brother dedicated to God's hidden service. Our grateful thanks and our prayers go with him.

WASHINGTON FRONT

From Lake Success.—With Jacob Malik belaboring us with everything up to and including the kitchen sink, Moscow model, the wonder is that the velocity and firepower of the answers from our side of the UN Security Council table have been so modest. Why have we failed to nail Russia, in words of one syllable, for being the actual instigator of the Korean war, for supplying tanks, manpower training and other aids to the destruction of the little republic? Three answers are given.

First, U.S. policy of the moment hangs on the notion that if we don't make the Russians really mad by laying a direct charge of aggression against Moscow, they'll be able to back down one of these days without loss of face. The thinking is that if UN forces can begin to roll the Korean Communists back northward, Moscow may get tractable and agree to "use its influence" with its North Korean pals. But if we say the Russians themselves really are the aggressors, our people say that wouldn't leave them the diplomatic fire-escape they'd have otherwise.

Second, our people claim, the United States has been able to carry a majority of the Security Council along with us so far, but they aren't sure that would be so if our policy became sharper.

Third, it's an unhappy fact that right now we haven't got what it takes militarily to be talking much tougher than we have been. If Russia bursts through with a new aggression, we're in trouble.

But, meanwhile, although the Soviets take a trimming on important roll-calls, they are able to carry on a terrific campaign of world propaganda.

Who gave the word for the first troop movements across the 38th parallel? The Russians? Of course not! The Americans!

What foreign troops are fighting in Korea? The Russians? Absurd! It's the Americans!

Who agreed to Pandit Nehru's bid for a big UN peace talk—Dean Acheson? None but good, old peace-loving Joe Stalin!

The United States, Great Britain and France have entered denials of the Malik charges, of course, and have pointed out that the Security Council itself has branded North Korea as the aggressor. But nobody has hung a documented rap on Moscow. And so Mr. Malik, the *Daily Worker*, Tass and the Moscow radio go on damning the United States for bombing women and children in Korean cities. They try to distinguish between U.S. forces and UN forces and thus split the Security Council.

The United States, it is said, cannot traffic in lies and vilification as does the Soviet Union. It is easier to denounce if you have no regard for facts. Undoubtedly all the factors cited for our policy have some validity. But there is some feeling that a fast ball with a hop ought to be mixed now and then with our slow-ball.

CHARLES LUCEY

UNDERSCORINGS

Fifty priests and 200 farmers from the rural parishes of Kansas City (Mo.) diocese met July 19 at the College of Our Lady of the Ozarks, Carthage, Mo., to form the Company of St. Isidore, reports an August 10 release from the National Catholic Rural Life Conference. (St. Isidore, a Spanish farm laborer, died near Madrid, A.D. 1130.) The Company's purposes are to foster special devotion to St. Isidore, to promote religious practices in rural families and parishes and to take part in rural retreats and institutes for farmers.

► Rev. J. Franklin Ewing, Jesuit anthropologist attached to Fordham University, N. Y., is making a search at the pilgrimage center at Auresville, N. Y., for the remains of the first North American martyrs—Father Isaac Jogues and Brother René Goupil of the Society of Jesus, put to death by the Mohawks three centuries ago. Father Ewing became internationally known for his discovery in the Lebanon in 1940 of a 60,000-year-old skeleton—"Egbert of Ksar 'Akil" (AM., 4/12/47, p. 43).

► How many priests and religious in the United States and Canada are "radio hams"? Msgr. Raymond L. Wageman, pastor of St. Anthony's Church, Steinauer, Nebr., would like to know. Together with Rev. Augustine Rottering, O.S.B., of Maur Hill School, Atchison, Kansas, he is collecting the call letters, locations and bands of fellow clerics and religious who are addicted to the short waves. Thus far they report one bishop, several nuns and a large number of priests as "hams."

► If you want a ride to church on Sunday in Jacksonville, Fla., just get on the bus and say: "I'm going to church." The Jacksonville Coach Company will bring you there free. It will bring you home free, too. Wiley L. Moore, president of the company, is making this offer because "the church is the backbone of the nation; and if the churches fall by the wayside we are finished."

► Said L. M. Lever, non-Catholic Labor member of the British Parliament, recently in the House of Commons, advocating more state support for denominational schools:

It is a disgrace that ministers and priests should have to go cap in hand . . . to raise funds for what ought to be a state responsibility.

This is a burden which ought not to be borne when it is in regard to matters which are covered by the general system of education—domestic science, gymnasia and all those things which the state would have had to provide in any event, assuming that the denomination had not taken the initiative and built its own schools.

► St. Martin's College, Olympia, Wash., is initiating courses in agriculture as part of its curriculum of liberal arts and sciences. Its aim is not to produce agricultural specialists, but liberally educated Catholics prepared for an active and intelligent rural life. C.K.

Wanted: a formula for Formosa

Neither the shouting war in the Security Council of the UN nor the shooting war in Korea should make the United States forget Formosa. There are alarming indications that the Chinese Reds will invade that strategic island during the next month, before the monsoon season sets in.

We know that most experts do not believe the Chinese Reds will strike so soon. The Chinese, they argue, would not venture out against the U.S. Seventh Fleet without assistance from Soviet submarines and fighter planes. The Soviets could not help them without bringing on war with the United States, and they do not want such a war at this time.

This argument is not too reassuring. The Russians have been helping the North Koreans in many devious ways and have gotten away with it. Will not their success in embroiling the United States in one costly "little war" tempt them to try the same tactics in the case of Formosa?

What should increase the temptation is the deplorable and dangerous fact that the United States has done nothing during the eight weeks since its original action on Formosa to relate that action to the United Nations. On June 27 President Truman bluntly declared: "I have ordered the Seventh Fleet to prevent any attack on Formosa." That was a unilateral commitment and remains a unilateral commitment. This, despite our repeated protestations that the United States bases its foreign policy squarely on the UN Charter.

If the Chinese Reds attacked Formosa tomorrow, it is entirely possible that the United States would be at war with Red China all by its already harassed self. Which of our reluctant allies could be counted on for assistance?

We were careful to secure the sanction and support of the UN for our intervention in Korea. At the same time we acted unilaterally in Formosa and for some unaccountable reason have drifted along all alone in our own little boat ever since.

The Russians have not been slow to take advantage of our sluggishness. Their delegate Jacob Malik has argued in the Security Council that the Korean war is a civil war, like the American and the Chinese civil wars. Walter Lippmann was quick to warn that Malik may be preparing an argument for use later "when the Formosa question comes to a head." Since the war between Chiang and Mao is a civil war, by what right, we may expect Mr. Malik to ask, does the United States intervene? Is that not aggression, which the United Nations must condemn?

Even though an invasion of Formosa were not imminent—and we pray that it is not—we believe the United States must speedily find a formula for Formosa which will, at least, make it harder for Russia to isolate us from our allies and discredit us among the Asiatics.

Mr. Lippmann believes that "it is not possible for the Truman Administration to take the initiative in extricating itself from the vulnerable position it is in." The reason? "This is an election year and, moreover, it is never easy to reverse a reversal." Because they are not as entangled as we are, he suggests that our allies could, acting within the framework of the UN, "raise a new standard

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of hope and of peace to which the peoples of the world could rally."

Mr. Lippmann may have in mind some definite moves our allies might make, but he does not describe them. We believe that the nature of the move that must be made is fairly obvious, and that Mr. Truman should make it, election year or no election year. He will gain more credit for courageously "reversing his reversal" than by exposing the United States to fighting a war, all unaided, with Communist China.

The U.S. delegation to the UN should bring up the Formosa crisis at once. Since recourse to the Security Council would be fruitless as long as the Russians remain, our delegation should ask Secretary General Trygve Lie to convene a special session of the General Assembly at once. Mr. Lie told interviewers August 7 that he would not hesitate to call an extraordinary session on twenty-four hours notice if necessary. The Charter provides, it is true, for an interval of fourteen days between the time of call and the special session, but, as Mr. Lie stated, "a simple majority would be sufficient to make it (the special session) a legal assembly."

Let the U. S. delegation then ask that Mao's threats, the shelling of Quemoy, and the concentration of an invasion force be considered a threat to the peace, that a UN watchdog commission be dispatched to Formosa forthwith, and that the United States be authorized by the UN to provide forces to forestall any invasion.

"Clear and present danger"

Eleven top U. S. Communist party leaders were convicted on October 14, 1949 of violating section 3 of the Smith Act of 1940 by conspiring to teach and advocate the forcible overthrow of the Government. The trial, which took place in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York, Judge Harold R. Medina presiding, lasted just three days under nine months. On August 1, 1950 the U.S. Court of Appeals (Second Circuit), in a unanimous opinion written by Justice Learned Hand, upheld the conviction.

Judge Hand's 20,000-word opinion covered the numerous phases of the trial on which the defendants based objections. Within the limits of an editorial we can touch upon only some of the highlights of this opinion.

Treating of the constitutionality of the Smith Act, Judge Hand dealt at length with the interpretation of the classic formula that public utterances are protected by the First Amendment, unless they constitute a "clear and present danger" to the public weal. This is the rule laid

down by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Schenck v. United States* (1919). Observing that "the phrase 'clear and present danger' is not a slogan or a shibboleth to be applied as though it carried its own meaning," Judge Hand said that the courts must in each case ask themselves if the gravity of the danger, when discounted by its improbability, remained such as to justify interference with the right of free speech.

The Justice deliberately chose the word "improbability" rather than "remoteness in time." "Given the same probability," he reasoned, "it would be wholly irrational to condone future evils which we should prevent if they were immediate." If Justices Brandeis and Holmes, concurring in *Whitney v. California* (1927), required a proximate threat of danger to justify interference with freedom of speech, that was because, as their reasoning clearly showed, they believed that "delay in execution would give opportunity for the corrective of public opinion." In the case at bar, however, the widespread, closely-knit organization of the Communist party, its rigid discipline, the secrecy of its methods, the fanaticism of its followers—taken, above all, in the context of the "cold war" and the world situation in 1948, when the indictment was drawn—would make it folly for the Government, having discovered such a conspiracy, to allow it to continue. The defendants' contention that the First Amendment protected their activities "presupposes that the Amendment assures them freedom for all preparatory steps and in the end the choice of initiative, dependent upon the moment when they believe us, who must await the blow, to be worst prepared to receive it."

Judge Hand then turned to the argument that the Smith Act, since it penalizes "any person" who "knowingly or willfully" advocates the violent overthrow of the Government, is so broad and vague as to be unconstitutional. The Act would, he admitted, "make criminal the fulminations of a half-crazy zealot on a soap box calling for an immediate march on Washington." Judge Medina had charged the trial jury that if they were convinced the defendants had indeed engaged in the *particular activities alleged against them*, they should find them guilty under the Smith Act. The defendants argued that this narrowing down of the wording of the Act was a usurpation by the judge of the functions of Congress, which should not have left the scope of the Act so vague.

In reply to this Judge Hand noted that Congress had inserted in the Act a "separability clause," providing that if its application "to any person or circumstance is held invalid . . . the application . . . to other persons or circumstances" should not be affected. Congress, he said, was faced with the fact that "it would be impossible to draft a statute which should attempt to prescribe a rule for each occasion." It follows therefore, he concluded, "either that the Act is definite enough as it stands, or that it is practically impossible to deal with such conduct in general terms."

Moreover, added Judge Hand, since the overthrow of the Government by violence is an enterprise criminal on its face, the argument of the accused was tantamount to asking the court "to relieve them of the risk of incorrectly

guessing the right meaning of the words [of the Act], while engaged in an undertaking they knew to be wrong."

Few will quarrel with Justice Hand's exposition of these important issues, or with his dismissal of the Communists' appeal. His thorough analysis of the law and the facts will in all probability be ratified by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Is the danger total?

The message which the directors of Freedom House addressed to President Truman on August 6 has shifted the basis of the increasingly intense debate over economic controls.

Prior to the Freedom House intervention, the argument raged over the *degree* to which the economy had to be controlled to nullify the inflationary effects of the *partial* military mobilization ordered by the President. An influential school of thought, headed by Bernard Baruch, plumped for all-out controls at once. On the other hand, the President himself saw no need for total economic mobilization at this time. "When the military budget is only ten per cent of our national production," said the Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, Leon Keyserling, undoubtedly reflecting Mr. Truman's opinion, "it would be fantastic to freeze 100 per cent of our economy."

As our readers are aware, we have been inclined up till now to favor the President's side in this debate—but judiciously. Our support of partial controls has been something less than all-out. Certainly, we would never think of characterizing proposals for complete economic controls as "fantastic." Even though the analogy with World War II, when the country procrastinated and came to full controls tardily and step by halting step, has been pushed too far by the Baruch school, there are enough similarities to give a man pause and make him respectful of the opposition.

The Freedom House message, however, ignores this controversy as unrealistic and gives the debate a more significant turn. Proceeding from the assumption that the United States is confronted today with a threat of "total danger," the directors argue:

We must rapidly achieve that degree of military and economic mobilization adequate to completely support an armed force capable of discouraging Soviet imperial aspirations and defeating her aggressive military acts whenever and wherever they are launched.

In order to rearm adequately for this world-wide task, as well as to help our allies to rearm, the directors estimate that it will be necessary to divert to military purposes not ten per cent of our productive capacity, as the President is now doing, but "as much as twenty or twenty-five per cent." That cannot be done, they conclude, without complete controls over the economy.

With the Freedom House conclusion few will care to disagree. The argument turns, then, on the assumption that we face a "total danger" which cannot be met without doubling our present armaments program.

Stated in this way, the issue is easily the most serious one which has ever confronted the American people.

If our danger today is "total," there can be no doubt or hesitation. No nation in its senses gambles with its security. Much better to send billions down the drain, to produce weapons that may become obsolete before they are ever fired, to draft young men and teach them techniques of war which they may never use, to break up families temporarily, to disrupt our economy, to make, in short, all the sacrifices which total economic and military mobilization requires, than to risk losing our freedom and independence. For if the danger is total and we do not face it, then everything is lost.

But is the danger total? Who can say with assurance and finality? This much, though, is certain: our enemy is ruthless and unpredictable, and he is fully armed and we are not. Such being the facts, there is tough logic in the Freedom House stand that we can best avoid war today, and protect our independence, by acting as if war is sure to come. Such a stand makes the original debate over economic controls sound perilously academic.

The weight of witnessing

We have had the Jehovah's Witnesses with us in New York for their international convention—133,707 of them. They came by car and boat and train and plane from sixty-seven countries—from Tasmania and Tanganyika as well as from Texas. They crowded the hotels and private homes of the entire metropolitan area. An hour-and-a-half drive from the city an overflow of 12,000 was accommodated in a ninety-acre tent and trailer city that mushroomed on the farm land of New Market, N. J. They blanketed Times Square with distributors of their handbills and literature in numbers to make the most ambitious advertising huckster faint with envy. They filled Yankee Stadium through eight days of meetings in crowds rivaling World Series attendance.

It was an impressive demonstration of the hold that primitive—and perverted—religion exercises on simple minds in an hour of humanity's confusion. It was an illustration also of the compelling power of a few ideas strongly held.

Man's unbroken string of failures, the helplessness of science, of education or political arrangements, to establish human happiness and a conviction of security provided Nathan H. Knorr, head of the Witnesses, with the theme of his final message to 87,195 emotional listeners in Yankee Stadium on August 6. Armageddon, the ultimate battle between the forces of good and evil, he announced, is at hand. It will be followed by the partial destruction of heaven and earth. The Biblical elect of 144,000 (presumably the Witnesses) will be caught up to the new heavens, the lesser "righteous" will inhabit a new Paradise, a cleansed earth. "An earth," promised Mr. Knorr, "on which no natural disasters occur, on which your fellow creatures enjoy complete health and permanent youthful beauty and vigor and where never a hospital or graveyard mars the grandeur of a perfectly cultivated land."

This is undoubtedly a comforting assurance for those chosen by Jehovah, who has made known his election by the spirit of God bearing witness within. Such selection by Jehovah makes one a witness, a minister of his message. It does not involve membership in a religion. "Judge" Rutherford, who gave the Witnesses their name, was clear on that: "Religion originated with the devil and has been used by the devil at all times since to deceive the people and to turn them away from the worship of Almighty God." It involves accepting no complicated creed. It calls mainly for allegiance to the Adventist doctrine of Christ's Second Coming, and for insistent proselytizing.

Charles Taze Russell, the founder of what, through "Judge" Rutherford's tireless enterprise, became the international organization of Jehovah's Witnesses, had publicly concluded that 1914 dated "the full establishment of the Kingdom of God." Nothing more cataclysmic than the outbreak of World War I having occurred, the interpretation was changed. Christ did come—in invisible form—in 1918. In that year He entered "the body of consecrated Christians whom he gathered unto himself; in 1922 his presence was understood by his followers; since then he has been illuminating the prophecies."

Overlying this substratum of superstition is a virulent hatred of organized religion, of Catholicism particularly. Rutherford's conviction that "the devil's chief religious representatives on this earth [are] the Roman Catholic hierarchy" explains cartoons in the Jehovah's Witness' publication that for coarseness and ribaldry match the sacrilegious caricatures so favored by the Soviets during their anti-God campaign.

Jehovah's Witnesses are interesting not merely as simple folk lost in the slough of superstition and hotted up on slogans identifying the Church as the beast of the Apocalypse. Their inexhaustible energy, their quenchless enthusiasm, their unquestioning solidarity, their readiness to endure rebuff and reproach for their absurd doctrines must evoke ungrudging admiration. They should challenge our imitation.

On August 7, after the close of their convention, 23,000 out-of-town Witnesses queued up to inspect the home office and printing establishment of the organization in Brooklyn. They saw the dormitories for the 400 fellow Witnesses who work for a \$10 monthly allowance. They saw the presses and binding machines that pour out an enormous stream of religious gibberish all over the world. In 1939 when the Nazis boasted that 1,800,000 copies of *Mein Kampf* had been sold, the Witnesses could assert: "In our Brooklyn factory alone 5,620,000 copies have been printed of Judge Rutherford's book *The Harp of God*, 3,403,500 of *Deliverance*, 2,774,000 of *Creation*." They exceed the output of Catholic pamphlets almost fifty-fold, considering the proportion of Catholics and Witnesses in the American population.

"Preach the Word" was the motto hung in seventy languages at the Jehovah's Witnesses' convention. The command should stir uneasy questions in the consciences of Catholics concerning their knowledge of the faith and their willingness to discommode themselves to spread it.

Let's build the spiritual front

John LaFarge, S.J.

OF THE WAR IN KOREA Dwight Eisenhower is quoted as saying: "If you don't win this one you won't win anywhere." This pungent remark applies to another type of warfare that is closely akin to the battle being waged by our armed forces. An armed warfare against communism demands, from its very necessity, a spiritual warfare in defense of religion, since the total destruction of religion is the Communists' ultimate objective.

If we do not succeed during the next two or three years in making a tremendous step forward on the spiritual front in this country, if we do not use the opportunity that now presents itself, we shall have set the clock for an ultimate collapse in the spiritual field that must inevitably bring disaster to those heroically defending our country in all the little wars, and in "the" war, if and when it should come.

To quote from the words which Korea's Ambassador to the United States, Dr. John M. Chang, wrote recently for NC News Service, oddly paralleling those of Eisenhower:

I have been awesomely conscious that here is no fight to be won by man alone. It is a fight to be won by the prayers and faith of all men, if it is to be won at all . . . I can do no less as a man, as a Catholic and as a Korean than to bespeak your attention. We need many prayers, many more prayers than we need bullets. We need a vast voice, rising to heaven, reaffirming our faith in God and entrusting to Him our most sacred hopes . . .

Such a view must be obvious from the very nature of the fighting we are now engaged in. Behind North Korean tactics is a world strategy, and inspiring that world strategy is a fanatical anti-God and anti-religious ideology. The essence of that ideology is to make the ultimate terminus of man's history identical with that of the material, brute nature from which Karl Marx declares man originally sprang. It is to effect the complete brutalizing and de-spiritualizing of the human race, the destruction of all the ideas, tendencies, aspirations which in any way nourish or give life to man's spirit and move him to the knowledge and love of God.

My point is simply to emphasize that the present moment, that of our nation's face-to-face involvement with communism, is an opportunity to strike telling and lasting blows for religion. Never before have the consequences of irreligion been brought home to so many people, in so disturbing a way. At the same time, independently of this disturbed state of mind, our country is witnessing a steady growth of interest in religion and religious matters, as well as a yearning for something certain and absolute behind shifting standards of morals, especially in the field of the family and its relation to society.

Some very pertinent ideas for building up such a spiritual front are offered by the Abbé G. Michonneau,

As awareness grows that victory on the military front alone will not save civilization, the need for rebuilding the spiritual front becomes increasingly apparent. In the following article Father LaFarge stresses the opportunity the crisis offers, and reviews two examples of recent constructive effort by Catholic and other religious leaders.

whose *Revolution in a City Parish* has recently appeared in an English translation (Newman Press, Westminster, Md. 189 pp. Cloth: \$2.50. Paper \$1.25).

Abbé Michonneau has stirred up tremendous interest abroad. His own parish of Colombes near Paris has become quite a pilgrimage place for people who wish to see how a parish priest, with the teamwork of his assistants, has tackled the problem of hostile, irreligious surroundings head-on, "not by sighs and vain wishes, but by real activity." To meet a very modern situation, Colombes has been made a missionary (not a "mission") parish.

THE "DIRECT APOSTOLATE"

The heart of Abbé Michonneau's program is the "direct apostolate," the direct approach of militant and united Catholics to unbelievers. He believes that today's parish as a whole, as a Christian community, has the same power to influence the surrounding paganized or secularized community as was exercised by the Christian communities of the early centuries of the Church. Yet his emphasis is upon *personal* influence, not upon any tactics of organization. He sums up his idea as follows (p. 100):

We are not trying to patch up the ills of the world around us; we are trying to rebuild it completely. For that we need real militants who will fill their surroundings with the spirit of Christ, so that men and women will want to know and follow this Christ. We are not interested in gaining recruits for our church services, but we are passionately interested in gaining recruits for Christ. The creation of this new and revolutionary Christian atmosphere depends on the common efforts of each and every Christian; it cannot be left to the members of the specialized movements [Jocists, etc.] . . . Every man has his own little world to influence, to change, to Christianize. That is what we must do as united individuals.

The Abbé is haunted by the need of proclaiming our faith in language that the ordinary secularized person can understand, and remarks that much of the phraseology and imagery used in our sermons is something like Church vestments—put on only for special occasions and laid aside the rest of the time. He insists that "our liturgy must be communal if it is to be living, apostolic," and observes: "At first glance that phrase may seem trite, yet it is the key to the revolution of the parish. . . Church services are meant to be group prayers."

In many ways our problem in this country is the same as that facing Abbé Michonneau; but in other respects it is different. We are fortunate in the United States in that we do not suffer from the extreme cleavage that exists abroad between rich and poor, or—in many Catholic countries—between clergy and laity. But we are up against the apathy, the confusion, and the racial, national

and religious divisions, the increasing worldliness, materialism and sensuality of a great majority of fundamentally well-meaning and kindly people, bewildered in many cases by *ersatz* cults and sects; along with a widespread suspicion of Catholics as a "minority," who somehow—it can never be clearly demonstrated why—do not "belong." What the young Catholic apostle faces in the United States is not the teeth and claws wielded by the European unbeliever. It is rather the quiet brush-off, the difficulty of finding any place to begin, a spiritual or psychological beachhead upon which to land.

For this reason I think we shall be missing the boat in a spiritual sense if we fail to recognize the need of two distinct lines of approach to this problem of creating a spiritual front. One of these I have already mentioned: the job of presenting our faith as a personal conviction and experience, in language that the reader of *Quick* and *This Week* can understand; of presenting it in casual conversation more than in formal or dramatic fashion. But there is another approach to the problem of religious ignorance and indifference which at the moment it would be criminal to neglect. This is the approach through a joint utterance, on matters of universal concern and of distinctively moral bearing, by all those who profess belief in God and regard for His moral law.

INTERFAITH ACTION

With this idea in mind, I feel confident that such a joint statement as that issued on August 2 by the officers of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the National Catholic Welfare Conference and the Synagogue Council of America, assailing aggression and exposing the phony "Stockholm Appeal" for peace, is bound to produce a general, wide effect on behalf of religion, over and above the particular issues which it treats in its succinct five-point program. These points, as you will recall, are, briefly: 1) renunciation of aggression; 2) loyalty to the United Nations Charter; 3) respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms; 4) UN positive welfare programs; 5) reduction of armaments and effective atomic control.

The statement, if widely publicized, will work as a powerful impetus toward creating a greater respect for religion itself, for the very cogent reason that it is a *united* statement. Rightly or wrongly, a consciousness that intelligent, God-fearing men and women of widely different views have succeeded in agreeing on certain fundamentals makes a profound impression upon the American mind. Religion speaking under such combined auspices will be heard, noticed, respected by millions whose ears cannot be reached by the utterances of Catholics speaking only as Catholics. To the massed effect of a combined utterance is added the weight of the issues themselves on which the religious leaders speak. These are matters about which the same millions are deeply concerned, or will be in the very near future.

The stress that I place upon the importance and effectiveness of such a joint pronouncement does not in any way imply a watering-down of the message of Catholicism itself. Let us put the matter crudely, lest we be in any

way misunderstood. The completely supernatural, integrally Catholic message which we, as members of Christ's one, holy and Catholic Church are striving to bring to a divided and religiously confused world—the individual, exclusive message of the Church—will best be heard in a general climate of respect for religion itself, in a way that it never can be heard, save through a miracle, in a climate of crass religious indifference and general skepticism. Vexatious and stubborn as are the anti-Catholic prejudices of some of our fellow-believers in God and even in Our Lord Jesus Christ, their idiosyncrasies do not present the same menace to faith or the same obstacle to the Catholic apostolate that is offered by sheer indifference to all religion, to any idea of God, in a de-spiritualized and grossly naturalistic world.

WORK ON TWO FRONTS

Taking a leaf from good Abbé Michonneau, and many another modern apostle of his type, I would say, then, that the present moment calls for unremitting labor on two fronts. First, as we said, the direct presentation, in popular style, of our integral Catholic faith minus *if's* or *but's*, as a personal responsibility shared by all Catholics, and as a common work of our parishes. Second, a widespread effort—also a sacred, Christ-dedicated undertaking—to spread abroad the knowledge of such a joint utterance as the one I have just mentioned: through study groups, through personal contacts, and other well-tried means. The points of this program should not be presented as a set of mere abstract proposals. They should be brought to the unbelieving or skeptical public as an example of how religion can speak with clarity and moral authority on matters of great common human interest.

A few nights past I happened by accident to drop in at a meeting of Catholic ladies who were expecting to organize a local court of the Catholic Daughters of America. There was a touch of the dramatic, at least to my own mind, in their little gathering; for the very mixed community (the Patuxent, Md., Naval Base and its vicinity) where they expected to function was new and ultra-modern, as was the assembly hall itself. Yet not so long ago, as it seemed, I, then a country pastor, had maneuvered a rickety old jalopy through the narrow forest road to the very spot where that brick community hall and the surrounding Lexington Park business center now stand, and the whippoorwills whooped and the owls hooted where now the jet planes roar off daily for Korea and other far places. It was a revolution in a country parish.

I laid before my former parish-school pupils and their present companions this twofold approach to the building of a spiritual front, though at the moment I had no "joint statement" to refer to. That need was supplied by the daily press the following day. The newly organized Daughters should now have their work mapped out for them. So, I think, have we all.

In the words of Abbé Michonneau: "Each of us has a definite and responsible work to do for Christ; no one is excepted." If we were ever before in doubt as to what types of work need to be done, that day would now seem to be over.

Breathing space

Paul Crane

ENGLISH CATHOLICS derived considerable satisfaction from the May 4 debate in the House of Commons on the Ministry of Education estimates. During its course George Tomlinson, the Minister of Education, and R. A. Butler, the Conservative author of the 1944 Education ("Butler") Act, showed themselves not only appreciative of the part played by the denominational schools in the educational life of Great Britain, but desirous of alleviating the financial difficulties which such schools must face if they are to retain their independence.

Neither Mr. Tomlinson nor Mr. Butler is yet prepared to alter the settlement on denominational schools embodied in the Butler Act, nor are their respective parties ready to do so. Both, however, are prepared, within the framework of the Act, to work for adjustments to ease the heavy financial burdens at present faced by the denominational schools. The way is open to compromise and negotiation. That, in itself, is a considerable gain. It does not give English Catholics all they could desire, but it gives them a good deal. At the moment, therefore, they have every reason to feel that the pre-election campaign, which they fought so vigorously for the sake of their schools, is likely to bear good fruit.

That campaign went on all during the three or four months that preceded the general election of February 24 last. It extended throughout the whole country. It is important to realize that the timing of the campaign was settled, not by the date of the election, but by the onset of financial commitments which the English hierarchy recognized as unbearably heavy in a statement published as far back as June 25, 1949.

BACKGROUND OF CAMPAIGN

The basis of those commitments is found in the Butler Education Act of 1944. That Act continued to make provision for denominational schooling within the system of state education, which it reorganized and extended on the foundations laid by previous legislation. Under the Butler Act, as under previous legislation, a price had to be paid by Catholics (and by other denominations who thought as they did) if they wished to retain that control of school management without which control over the appointment of teachers cannot be secured. Such control English Catholics have always considered vital if their schools are to possess a character sufficiently Catholic to guarantee an education for *the whole man* in accordance with his essential purpose. English Catholics have a saying that religion should be caught as well as taught: for us it is something that should inform the whole curriculum. Hence our fight for control of those of our schools in which education is given free. Our autonomy has always been conceded by the Government at a very heavy cost to ourselves.

The campaign of political education to save religious education, waged by the Catholics of England, is a heartening example of what an earnest minority can do to guard the spiritual front. Father Crane, an active participant in the campaign, is a member of the Headquarters Staff of the Catholic Social Guild at Oxford.

At the time of the Butler Act in 1944 the position was that public funds provided the entire cost of *maintenance* of the denominational schools (including teachers' salaries), while it was left to the denominations in question to provide the *schools themselves*, i.e., site, building and structural upkeep. Though public authorities were defraying over 90 per cent of the cost of the Catholic schools which provided free elementary education, the fact remains that the money that had to be raised by Catholics constituted a heavy financial burden. This burden had to be borne by a poor minority (Catholics represent only about six per cent of the population of England) as a condition of its exercising an elementary natural right.

NEW BURDENS UNDER BUTLER ACT

The Butler Act of 1944 raised the school-leaving age and reorganized the system of free education in England and Wales, setting new standards of education and educational equipment. These obviously called for new buildings, the modernization of existing buildings, for new equipment, etc. Consequently Catholics were let in for new financial burdens if they wished to retain control of their schools. In a memorandum presented to the hierarchy's representative on November 24, 1943, the Ministry of Education estimated the Catholic burden under the Butler Act as approximately £10 million. The Bishops protested to the end against the intolerable burden of such a sum, and stated on January 5, 1944: "We wish to make it clear that we have never accepted, do not accept, and never shall accept, the bill as it now stands."

The protest went unheard. English Catholics were left to raise £10 million if they wished to save their schools and their children.

During the years that followed, the cost to Catholics of their commitments under the Act rose to such an extent that it forced the hierarchy to publish their statement of June 25, 1949. In this they pointed out that because of steeply rising building costs and because of the added financial demands imposed by the regulations and specifications which the Minister was empowered to make under the Act, the Catholic burden under the Butler Act, originally estimated at approximately £10 million, was likely to rise to £60 million. Moreover (and this added urgency to the Bishops' statement and forced them eventually to call Catholics to action), by a provision of the Butler Act, Catholic school authorities would be forced, just at a time when their financial burden had risen six-fold, to assure the Ministry of Education in the very near future of their present ability to meet this unbearable burden at an uncertain date in an uncertain future. This is well explained in an able and informative leaflet given wide currency at the height of the schools campaign. From it I quote:

The reason why the claim for increased help is being made now is that, quite simply, the alternative is the loss of our Catholic schools by the hundred. Almost immediately.

By the 1944 Act, the local education authorities were obliged to draw up development plans for primary and secondary schools in their areas, including Catholic schools. Once those development plans have been approved by the Minister—and more than one-third of the total number have already been so approved—the managers or governors of Catholic schools have six months in which to apply for “aided” or “special agreement” status (*i.e.*, status allowing them to keep control of their school). With this application the Catholic managers or governors have to submit to the Ministry a form known as Form 18 Schools, showing that they are able to pay their share of the expenses of the school, including any work of reconstruction. This form has also to receive the backing of the bishop of the diocese in which the school is situated.

Unless the application is made in time and the Minister is finally satisfied with the resources shown on Form 18 Schools, the Catholic school will become controlled by a public, non-Catholic body and so lost to the Catholic body. Though all the money may not have to be paid for some time, the *guarantee* has to be given *now*. That decision has to be taken *now*. That is why the Bishops’ proposals for a new settlement are being put forward now, for the whole of our schools in England and Wales.

Perhaps this will show the American reader why the English hierarchy acted when it did. Its endeavor was not to “cash in” on a general election, for its request for financial relief was made before the date of the general election was known. Its hand was forced. Individual bishops had either to surrender the Catholic schools in their dioceses or state their ability to raise money, which, in many cases, they knew they could not raise. They found it impossible in conscience to do either. Hence their claim for relief and their call to the Catholic community of England and Wales to support that claim.

EDUCATION FOR THE CANDIDATES

Space does not permit any account of the various proposals for relief put forward from the Bishops’ side. Suffice it to say that the two major political parties made it clear that they would not consider any solution of the problem which involved a change in the settlement embodied in the Butler Act. The tendency of both was to tell Catholics not to make a nuisance of themselves, to count their blessings and to be satisfied with what they had already received.

Any inclination the adherents of either party may have felt to shelter behind such high-handed talk was given a rude awakening. The Catholics of England rose to a man at the call of their Bishops, and fought an able and courageous campaign. It lasted more than three months and, by a fortunate coincidence, reached its climax during the three weeks that preceded the general election. Candidates of all parties, except the Communist, found themselves interviewed by delegations of Catholics, who examined them closely and sometimes with considerable bluntness on their attitude towards Catholic schools. Through the questions put to them, most of the candidates were ac-

quainted for the first time in their lives with the strength of Catholic feeling on a matter that has always united English Catholics irrespective of the claims of party or class.

The impression made by these interviews was unmistakable. It was reinforced by a brilliant leaflet campaign and by countless meetings held before packed and fiery audiences all over the country—meetings which began with the national anthem and ended with *Faith of Our Fathers*, the battle hymn of English Catholicism. As one who has addressed many meetings and who was privileged to do a share of speaking in that campaign, I can say that I have rarely known anything to touch the exhilaration and enthusiasm of those meetings. They had an atmosphere you could feel—something that gripped you at once.

RESULTS

The public was impressed. So were the Parliamentary candidates. Consequently, for the first time in history, we have a Parliament that understands the Catholic position on the schools question and that is more sympathetic to our position than ever before. Small wonder that the English nose for compromise is busy sniffing out a solution. For the moment there will be no going back on the Butler Act, but there will be relief within the framework of its provisions. The Minister of Education indicated its possible direction in the May 4 debate on the estimate of the Ministry



of Education. He suggested that the criteria to be applied, in accordance with Form 18, to the churches’ statement of their financial resources will be progressively more lenient according as the work involved in the building and adaptation of denominational schools is likely to be done within two years, ten years, or more than ten years. In other words, the more distant the date of building, the less onerous the terms on which schools will be allowed to retain their denominational character.

This is a big step forward, and Catholics will be grateful for the sympathy that accompanies it from both sides of the House. It means that the Bishops are no longer on the horns of a dilemma. The Catholics of England and Wales still have to pay for the exercise of a natural right, but they are freed from the cruel urgency of the drastic alternatives which faced them a few months ago. Their immediate commitments are lessened. They have time to breathe. The gun has been withdrawn from the nape of their neck.

Meanwhile English Catholics can hope without undue presumption that, as time goes by, increasing sympathy for their cause will combine with their own tact and determination to grant them the full extent of their rightful claims.

Peace—or else

Joseph Prudzik

LATE IN JUNE of this year, I was one of about 500 who attended the opening of the summer-long Humanistic Institute in Aspen, Colorado.

An inland town about 180 miles west of Denver, Aspen lies in a valley surrounded by not-too-lofty but ruggedly inspiring mountains. In the late nineteenth century, it was a prosperous center of mining activity. Then it declined. Until a few years ago, it was largely a deserted town, inhabited mostly by the ghosts of past importance and activity. Then some public-spirited citizens, aided, abetted and spurred on by educational and scientific minds of national renown, conceived the idea which resulted in the rebirth of Aspen as a center of humanistic studies. For the feverish search for gold was substituted the attraction of great men, great books, great music. By this means the sponsors hoped to develop a pool of ideas which would contribute to the evolution of the rational element in the rational animal, and thus eventually lead to true peace in the world. A high aspiration, and one worthy of note and commendation.

This is not intended as publicity for Aspen or propaganda for the Institute. I am sorry, though not surprised, to admit that some of the things said at the sessions I attended, some of the opinions aired, some of the reactions evoked, and some of the questions asked were mere tripe. That was to be expected. Some of the speakers and performers of whom one had a right to expect much were a sore disappointment. That, too, is not surprising. Some of those who impressed me most deeply and favorably made the contrary impression on many of the others present. Perhaps even that paradox is understandable. The unimpressed attributed their lack of favorable response to the speakers' "Thomistic smugness." On the other hand, there were some on the program of whom I expected no more than to be entertained. What was my surprise when I came away from their performances not only impressed but even emotionally moved and intellectually stimulated. That is why I wrote this paper.

To pursue further the idea of the above-mentioned paradoxes, Chancellor Robert M. Hutchins of Chicago University, one of the presiding geniuses of the Institute, early in the week enunciated the principle that the object of the Institute's discussions was not to attain definite conclusions. That to me was a disappointment. I like conclusions. I dislike unattached ideas floating about in thin air, as much as I would dislike dismembered parts of bodies floating about in the air. But I noticed the Chancellor's statement met with fairly general approval.

Then, however, Dr. Hutchins stated that in a discussion of literary criticism, as indeed in any discussion involving basic values, an absolute norm of good and bad is needed. This need for an absolute he repeated and emphasized, and referred to the Aristotelian assumption of such an absolute principle. To my dismay, the members of the panel over which Dr. Hutchins was presiding made

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no noticeable response to his insistence. If anything, they seemed to brush it aside. The audience in general seemed equally indifferent, or equally disinclined, to postulate the necessity of an absolute; and that, to my mind, is why most of the panel discussions at Aspen could come to no definite conclusions. That is why some of the opinions expressed were meaningless, why some of the questions asked were silly, why some of the problems proposed were unanswerable. Dr. Hutchins tried hard enough to answer questions and suggest solutions in terms of an absolute norm of right and wrong. As a reward for his trouble, I heard an apparently intelligent member of the Fourth Estate accuse the Chancellor of "Thomistic smugness." Others, less intelligent, simply thought him stuffy.

For another example of this attempt to posit absolute values, I cite the lecture of Clifton Fadiman on the post-Hiroshima world and its chances for peace. I do not think a priest or Catholic philosopher or theologian could have given a talk more fundamentally sound, lucid, logical. Though it was impossible to agree with everything he said, I could not help being moved to admiration at his logic, his sincerity, the simple beauty of his expression, the humility with which he proposed some rather different ideas—ideas which were perhaps startlingly strange when heard from a secular platform, for they led to the conclusion that justice, law and peace are ideas ultimately understandable only in terms of an absolute standard, a standard based on a God of absolute, unchanging truth.

Mr. Fadiman's thesis was his conviction that Hiroshima was an event unique in human history, an important signpost on the road to the future, a point of departure from which humanity might plunge into extinction or progress to great glory. Hiroshima, he insisted, means the world had better attain peace—or else. In the past, civilizations died of class decay or of war. Then, however, war was never an activity of the whole human race, but rather of professional groups. Now war is an activity of the whole race, affecting civilization on a wholesale scale. Whole populations will be wiped out in another war, not only battalions on the firing line. The solution of the problem of peace depends on whether we are aware of our point in history—aware that our civilization is not immortal.

Following the statement, Mr. Fadiman made a most important point. There are, he said, three ways of looking at Hiroshima. There is the view of the pre-Hiroshima mind which looks upon Hiroshima as merely a passing

military episode. To such a mind Hiroshima marks no new era. The atom bomb to a person of this mentality is merely a development of arms, more destructive than older weapons, but relatively no more important than the discovery of gunpowder. The world, such a person thinks, will go on much as it is now, each nation talking democracy and developing its national sovereignty. There is a bit of pre-Hiroshima thinking in all of us, because all of us resist sudden, radical change.

The second school of thought considers Hiroshima an event which makes possible the salvation of the world only through a new world structure. The situation demands a special kind of structure, one based on a concept of world-embracing order and power. This is one view of a post-Hiroshima mind—a one-world concept shared, with variations, by all totalitarians, whether Nazi or Communist. It is a view unacceptable to most Americans, and to all who have any respect for the value of the individual.

People who consider the situation from the third viewpoint also realize that the salvation of civilization lies in one world. They reject, however, a one world erected on the principle of mere mechanical order, a world which attains the desired peace through the imposition of power. The one world the third group wishes to build can attain peace, plus the broadest human freedom, only through the operation of law. This is the true post-Hiroshima mind. And a world convinced of its oneness and operating on those principles is potentially able to produce freedom and law—because man is rational. When men finally get to thinking about what is necessary for their survival, as *human beings*, the conviction of one world based on freedom and law will follow. Power then would become merely an instrument of law for peace. Order would have its proper place in the structure of freedom through law.

The rational mind, he continued, convinced that civilization's salvation lies in a world of freedom and law, can progress to the idea of a federated world state. Such a state would of course mean a partial surrender of each member state's national sovereignty. It would, however, allow member states to retain their individual internal political and social structures. Each member state could continue to develop its own form of government, within the general framework of the world state. The federal world state would need legislative power to make laws necessary for the benefit of all, and police power sufficient to give sanction to its legislative orders. When politics are weak and statesmanship moribund, states resort to war; but when politics are strong and statesmanship is alive, states flourish in freedom through law. The question then is: rational federalization with freedom through law, or mechanical organization through power and force. The answer must be one world—or one funeral pyre.

As I sat entranced with Mr. Fadiman's lucid, penetrating analysis, his constant reference to freedom through law brought back to mind Dr. Hutchins' insistence on the necessity of an absolute norm. I wondered if the audience realized that only on the assumption of an absolute norm could one conceive of law and justice that would be lasting and applicable to all. Mr. Fadiman himself hinted at this near the end of his talk.

Later, when I sat enthralled by the magic of Mortimer Adler's discourse on questions science cannot answer, the same thought recurred. Dr. Adler threw a brilliant light on the basic assumption presented by Chancellor Hutchins: the necessity of an absolute norm of right and wrong if there is to be any validity to our ideas of justice, freedom and law. Unless there is such an absolute standard, it is evident, what may be looked on as justice by one may be looked on as injustice by another; what may be considered freedom by one may be considered license by another. Just such an attitude, insisted Dr. Adler, has been fostered by the positivistic empirical scientists of the last half-century and more. In their basic assumption that nothing can be known except what empirical science can prove objectively lies a denial of the objective validity of any knowledge outside the ken of physical science. Further, since empirical science discards its theories with the changes in the scope of its discoveries, so, it assumes, there must be equal flux in any other field of knowledge—if there is any other field of knowledge.

This positivist idea Dr. Adler attacked boldly. While admitting the supremacy of science in its own sphere, he insisted it could never go beyond the sensible aspect of matter. It may perhaps attain complete knowledge of the physical composition of the molecular structure of matter. It cannot answer the questions of the ultimate causes of things. This sphere of inquiry is beyond the methods of empirical science. Science cannot answer the question of what is the nature of good; neither can it say what is the nature of justice—or of democracy, or of peace. These problems belong to the sphere of philosophy.

Even philosophy, however, has its limitations, because human reason has its limits. Just as empirical science must recognize its limits with humility, so philosophy must recognize its limits with like humility. Just as it would be intellectual pride for science to assert that it had all the answers to the world of sensible appearance, so it would be intellectual pride for philosophy to assert that it could analyze the ultimate nature of all things. It can do so within the limits of reason, of human wisdom. To get the complete picture, however, even philosophy may need the help of a special insight. Using its unchanging principles as a basis for intellectual research, philosophy can reach the conclusion that there is a realm of knowledge higher than its ultimate can attain—a realm of unchanging truth which is the basis of the unchanging truth of philosophy; the unchanging truth which explains why science must change its findings as it grows in knowledge and, in those corrections, purify itself, so as to attain finally to the full, unchanging, absolute truth.

It is in this higher realm that theology is needed. When science has attained the technical knowledge of the sensible world, when philosophy has given direction for the use of this technical knowledge for its ultimate ends, then theology elevates intelligence with special insight so that man may attain his final and highest goal. Thus science, philosophy and theology all can work together to build a one world of peace and freedom through law. And in our post-Hiroshima world, science, philosophy and theology must work together for peace—or else.

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"Poor" or "noble" Indian?

JESUIT AND SAVAGE IN NEW FRANCE

By J. H. Kennedy. Yale. 206p. \$3.75

There is always an open field for scholars when it comes to a question of investigating what one might call by-products of historical events. Dr. Kennedy, an instructor in European History at Yale University, has played new light upon the concept of the "noble savage," thought up by the *Philosophes* of the eighteenth century, portraying it as a byproduct of Jesuit revelations of the Indian in America.

For the greater part of the book, the author's attention is taken up with the Indian as he took shape beneath the quill of the Jesuit. It is the stuff from which free-thinkers drew many an idea. In fact, the author's thesis is an attempt to show how the Jesuit, depicting Northern and Midwestern men of the forests, and presenting humiliating contrasts between the self-complacency of French Catholicism and savage fervor, gave substance, and (to no slight degree) mode, for the later aberrations of Voltaire, Rousseau, Lecarbot, Lahontan, and Lebeau, who abandoned orthodoxy for sensationalism. Far as such a by-product was from the minds of the missionaries, it was nevertheless there in fact, once the American Indian entered the "public domain," especially through the medium of the "Jesuit Relations."

"In so far as this book illuminates a debt of Bourbon France to Indian America and of freethinking reformers to men of orthodoxy," writes Dr. Kennedy, "its tendency may be called revisionist." But primarily it traces the idea of the savage from his physical reality in New France, through its spiritual and subsequently secularized interpretation, to the idealism of the "naturally good" man of the eighteenth century.

Since the reasoning is close and often sententious, the work is not easy reading. Obviously, the author thought that the voice of those who actually lived among the Indians was far more valuable than any delineations of his own, and so he liberally quotes Jesuit, Recollet and layman throughout. Hardly a page goes by without a footnote referring either to "Jesuit Relations" or other equally reliable sources, and his intelligently designed bibliography at the end of the book will prove a pleasure to scholars.

Never deviating from sincere and honest historical objectivity, the author gives several excellent character studies of Champlain, the Jesuits and the Indians, a fine summary treatment of the European post-Tridentine background against which the historian must watch the Jesuit in action and, happy to say,

BOOKS

a treatment of natural religion in skeleton fashion which leaves the fine distinctions to trained theologians.

Particularly interesting to this reviewer was a treatment of the Indian concept of unrestrained liberty, which caught the fancy of Rousseau—a concept which seems to be the battleground upon which modern-day anti-absolutists are waging a war of contradictions and moral suicide. It would be good to see a man of Dr. Kennedy's historical candor augment this fine contribution to historical research by tracing (if the facts warrant it) the advent and transmission of such a conception of liberty, not only from the Indian to the free-thinker, but also from the *Philosophes* to our modern-day distortions of the concept.

For students of American history, *Jesuit and Savage in New France* will be a welcome addition to a phase of life too little realized and too infrequently treated either in an unbiased or scholarly fashion. For the student of European history, this scholarly proof of the intellectual dependence of Continent upon Colony will serve to clarify and tighten a fabric of human life often hung together piecemeal. Better works have appeared on the theology involved, on practical missionary accommodation, and on the cultural and physical anthropology of the Indian, but Dr. Kennedy's treatment of these subsidiary elements is quite sufficient for his purpose. Jesuits can be happy that there is a sympathetic, objective and capable historian who has put the work of their early heroes in good focus. Scholarship of this type deserves a prominent place in our historical libraries.

CYRIL O. SCHOMMER

Trouble in a "holy city"

HUNT FOR HEAVEN

By Elsie Oakes Barber. Macmillan. 230p. \$3

Those who found *The Wall Between* and *The Trembling Years* absorbing novels may be a little disappointed in *Hunt for Heaven*—not in Mrs. Barber's abilities as a writer, but in the story she has chosen to tell.

There is little suspense in her latest novel, because any "Brook Farm" experiment is doomed to failure when most of the members join the community for their own purposes rather than in dedication to God. True, John

Bliss—the leader who took his little band from Chicago to a peaceful farm in Pennsylvania when rioting and bloodshed filled the streets—was a minister dedicated to God, a man afire with love, who wished to build “a new heaven and a new earth,” a holy city where all would be welcome, all would be equal, all would share alike, and all would love each other and love God with such a great love as to bring about a bit of heaven on earth. Unstintingly he gave of his time, his energy, his mind and his heart to the realization of his dream.

But there was Polly, who went along because she had no other place to go; a peddler who came because he was tired of wandering; a farmer who joined because he wanted to work on the land again; a group from the county poorhouse who came because they thought they would have better food—and there was Dan Braden. Dan, who was handsome and glamorous, came because he was being paid to write scandalous lies about the community so they would be driven in disgrace out of the neighborhood.

Dan saw the fine sincerity of John Bliss and the sacrifices of these poor people. His heart was touched, so that he left his evil ways, but he could not fully believe. It was Dan who won Rebecca's heart. What would lovely, loyal, lonely Rebecca do? Would she stay with John Bliss, her father whom she loved deeply, and help him in his work, or would she go with Dan? Could all these people spread the Kingdom of God on earth by shutting themselves away from the world? Or could they bring about the Kingdom even in their own hearts?

Mrs. Barber's characters are vividly shown. John Bliss' intensity of love and his unwavering adherence to his principles are admirable; the life of the community is drawn in detail and the sorrows and sacrifices limned with deep compassion. There is sympathy for those who succumbed to the natural desire to have again something they could call their own, and pity for those whose sins brought disaster. MARY L. DUNN

Milne's mellowness

A TABLE NEAR THE BAND

By A. A. Milne. E. P. Dutton. 249p. \$3
Getting a table near the band is a good idea for many reasons. For one thing, it interferes with conversation that might otherwise prove to be dangerous, particularly if you are a sensitive young man and the girl with you is artful. Besides, it gives you an excellent view of all the other people in the room. Thus, with typical Milne whimsy, the title story in this collection of shorts, *A Table Near the Band*, saves a young

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man from marrying the wrong girl and prepares you for a good view of the fascinating people in the rest of the book. It sets the mood for the thoroughly amusing yarns ahead, just as a good wine whets the appetite for a hearty meal.

Apart from the inimitable Milne style, the greatest charm of these thirteen short stories is that, with one or two exceptions, all deal with the trifling experiences that most of us have had at one time or another: such simple things as the loss of a handbag, the failure to produce a wallet when the waiter presents the check, a family reunion at Christmas. The consequences

of such simple difficulties are sometimes very complex and far-reaching and, with A. A. Milne, always amusing.

Mr. Milne is in a class by himself as a writer of fiction. He is tender, whimsical, humorous, satirical, penetrating. Sometimes he is all of these things all at once; sometimes separately; but always he is delightful, refreshing, entertaining, zany.

This collection is made for every taste. There are surprise-ending stories; there are samples of the ever-intriguing "who-did-it"; there is one ingenious tale consisting entirely of a four-way correspondence over a first edition; and there is one chuckling modern version

of the story of Noah and the Ark which must be a direct descendant of the old miracle play in which secular influence, wishing to enliven the biblical story, presents Hannah as a nagging wife.

The whole book is thoroughly good fun.
FORTUNATA CALIRI

From the Editor's shelf

Ten years ago Negley Farson startled the British colonial world by his outspoken study of Africa, *Behind God's Back*. His book this year is *Last Chance in Africa* (Harcourt, Brace, \$5). There is still time, the author holds, to prove that black man and white man can live together in Kenya, Tanganyika, and all of the Dark Continent. Reviewer John La Farge states that the author spares nobody's feelings in shrewdly indicating how, and how alone, that can be done. His arguments are all the more telling since he writes as a skilled sportsman and unabashed nature lover rather than as a social or political commentator.

WILD CONQUEST, by Peter Abrahams (Harper, \$3). The first part of the book tells of the agonies of a wagon trek to the North experienced by several families of Boers in the early nineteenth century—heartaches very similar to those of the American pioneers. The second theme is the story of an idealistic African chieftain and his son, who inevitably meet and oppose the Boers, each group ironically fated to kill the best in the other. James B. Kelley thinks this tightly written novel "an interesting book and one that is far more significant than so many of its more pretentious contemporaries."

ONE IS A LONESOME NUMBER, by William Manners (Dutton, \$3). How a man, an editor of a small, unimportant magazine, who learns that he has only a short time to live, sets about reordering his life, is the theme of this warm-hearted story. At first shut in with his fears, he then slows down his pace, takes time to do the little things he has always wanted to do, and during a five-weeks' holiday writes a book which explains that man ought always to live as though faced with death. It is N. Elizabeth Monroe's opinion that the author has created a lot of sympathy for the hero in his tragic situation, and has charged the whole work with a great deal of suspense. The book is full of perceptive insights into human relationships, although the spiritual side of the leading character's life and thought are presented in a somewhat negative fashion.

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THE WORD

Which of these, thinkest thou, proved himself a neighbor to the man who had fallen in with robbers? (Luke 10:36.)

I finished reading the gospel for the twelfth Sunday after Pentecost and looked out the window at the rain. I was thinking about Korea. Chin in hand, I stared dreamily at the puddle on the window ledge outside.

The puddle widened out into the breadth of Pusan harbor. Through the rain, the grey blocks of distant apartment houses turned into the hills behind Pusan. I lost the familiar sounds of subways and buses and only heard the roar of B-29's and the far-off artillery fire of Masan and Taegu. My wide-awake dream singled out one troop transport in the harbor and I could see the chaplain saying Mass on the forward deck. At the gospel he read them the story of the man who fell in with robbers, who stripped him and beat him and went off leaving him half dead. He read about the two selfish travelers who saw him there and passed by—and about the Samaritan who bound up his wounds, brought him to an inn and took care of him.

And this is how the chaplain explained that parable to the serious young faces under the hard helmets before him:

"Six weeks ago this peaceful little nation of Korea fell in with robbers. They stripped her and beat her; and now she is half dead. A few other nations have seen her lying there and have passed her by. But the nation whose uniform you wear, like some other nations, took pity at the sight. So we came to Korea and are binding up her wounds and taking care of her.

"We are fighting a war for the very principle Christ is teaching in this Sunday's gospel. We can be proud of the page our country has just written into history. But we must be most careful—careful to keep that record clean—careful to keep this a Samaritan war and not a selfish one—careful to keep looking upon Korea with pity and not upon the Communists with hate. It is a Christian crusade and there is no place in it for hate."

Pusan harbor turned back into the small puddle outside my window. I looked across a busy American city and knew what the chaplain would have said to us had we been there:

"We're sorry you can't fight with us in such an obviously just war. But you can help. Make your civilian sacrifices

generously and uncomplainingly. You will be helping to defend the kindly doctrine of Christ without which the world has no hope. Wrap up all these small acts of self denial into a glad package each week. It will make a splendid gift to offer God at your Sunday Mass. He will love you for it as He loved the Samaritan. And you will be a good neighbor."

DANIEL FOGARTY, S.J.

FILMS

SUNSET BOULEVARD is a macabre, theatrical, absorbing melodrama which, because it is brilliantly contrived, has been extravagantly and noisily acclaimed in advance of its release. Since it boasts a mature and iconoclastic viewpoint on a subject heretofore approached with rather juvenile hero-worship, it is apt to be taken entirely too seriously. The picture's pivotal figure is a half-mad, fiftyish, erstwhile queen of the silent screen named Norma Desmond, the circumstances of whose present existence are highly unlikely. She lives in anachronistic elegance in a decaying rococo mansion. Reality apparently still begins and ends for her back in the fabulous days when she earned \$18,000 a week, was the toast of five continents and had Maharajahs strangling themselves because of unrequited love for her. Presiding over her establishment and taking infinite pains to keep her illusions undiluted, is an even less probable major domo (Erich von Stroheim) who was once a great director and also, it later develops, formerly the first of the lady's three husbands. Granted that the silent-screen era spawned a fantastically distorted set of standards, yet Norma Desmond, who became a great actress without any resources within herself, whom adulation turned into an egomaniac, but who hung onto a fortune in an age of reckless extravagance, is a study in contradictions which the picture does not sufficiently explain or reconcile. Gloria Swanson, who plays the part spectacularly well, thereby furnishes living proof that the delusions of the film's heroine are at least not a universal malady among silent film idols. Quibbles about plausibility aside, the characters come to life within their narrow, melodramatic framework. And the story of jealousy, false hopes and murder which evolves when a penniless and cynical young writer (William Holden) is introduced by chance into the strange household, is perceptive, honest and exciting rather than merely bizarre.

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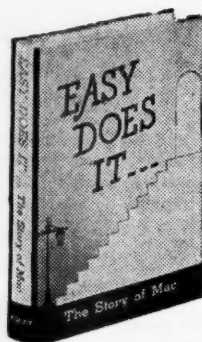
- "Children Who Love God"—a series by Mary Fabyann Windeatt on saintly children such as St. Maria Goretti, Blessed Dominic Savio, and others.
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Adults will not find the picture edifying, but for many reasons they should find it worth their attention. (*Paramount*)

MYSTERY STREET is a modest-budget movie dedicated to scientific crime detection. Beginning with the finding of a skeleton on a Cape Cod beach, it traces the steps by which a detective (Ricardo Montalban), with the aid of Harvard's Department of Legal Medicine, identifies the remains, establishes the fact of murder and finally captures the criminal. Suspense is generated through the painstaking amassing of clues and by laying a damning amount of circumstantial evidence at the door of an innocent man (Marshall Thompson). However, the picture's chief asset is its author's ability to keep its story within the realm of probability and convey a feeling of participation in a real-life manhunt rather than in a script-writer's pipe-dream. Though some of its details are grisly, *adults* should find the picture engrossing and its attitude toward crime constructive. (*MGM*)

MOIRA WALSH

PARADE

VOICES FROM THE WORLD OF long ago:

(Time: 272 A.D. Place: The interior of the temple of Jove, in the city of Rome. Julius Carpus, temple priest on duty, stands by a huge statue of his god.)

Stranger (addressing Carpus): Hail, sir. I, too, am a priest of Jove, in the city of Carthage, Africa. I am Caius Artemon.

Carpus: Hail, priest of Carthage. Welcome to Rome. How like you our temple?

Artemon: It is grandeur itself. But how few the worshipers. In Carthage, it is the same; but here in the capital of the Empire, I hoped the temple of our great Jove would be thronged.

Carpus: Our Roman gods, O priest of Carthage, are losing their devotees in droves, because everywhere the Christians are increasing in number.

Artemon: Thus is it in Carthage. But they must be exterminated. We must do something.

Carpus: Have we not tried everything? For two hundred years we have thrown Christians to the lions, burned them alive, torn them limb from limb—and what is the result? Today they are more numerous than ever.

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Some of the significant articles which appeared in recent issues of *AMERICA* were reprinted in page form at the request of interested readers or organizations. Limited quantities of some of these titles are available. 25 copies—\$1.00.

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WHERE WE STAND

an editorial from the issue of July 15, 1950, will be sent on request with the compliments of the editors.

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New York 17, N. Y.

Artemon: It is a frightening prospect.
Carpus: My grandfather was a priest of Jove. How his eyes would start from his head if he saw what I, his grandson, see: a Christian church functioning openly on a Roman street.

Artemon: How is our holy Emperor, Aurelian, affected toward these Christians?

Carpus: He opposes them, but he has to consider their growing strength all over the Empire. Especially does he perceive what powerful influence the Christian Bishop of Rome has in the eyes of the whole Christian Church.

Artemon: This is something I had not known.

Carpus: Recently the Christians in Antioch deposed a bishop and elected another. They asked the Emperor to decide which of the two bishops owned the Christian property. He decreed it belonged to the one recognized by Felix, the present Bishop of Rome.

Artemon: I did not know the Bishop of Rome had such prestige throughout the whole Christian Church, but I had heard of the prestige he enjoyed in Carthage.

Carpus: His prestige is enormous everywhere. Bishops are ceaselessly coming to consult him from every part of the Empire.

Artemon: We must wipe these Christians out. I firmly believe there will be new persecutions.

Carpus: No doubt; but will they destroy the Christians? The persecutions seem to make them stronger.

Artemon: You speak as though you feel the Christians will conquer the Empire.

Carpus: To speak the truth, O priest of Carthage, I am discouraged. For two hundred years, persecution has not stopped the growth of Christianity. What reason have we to think it will?

Artemon: Would you like to think of your grandson as a Christian?

Carpus: No, but perhaps he may be. Perhaps he will see the figure of the Carpenter on the Cross held aloft triumphant throughout the city of Rome.

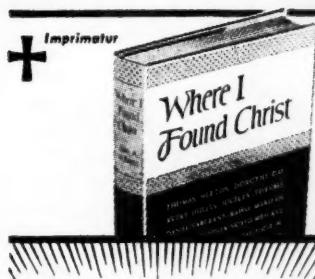
Artemon: The gods forbid! Adieu, Julius Carpus. JOHN A. TOOMEY

VERY REV. MSGR. JOSEPH J. PRZUD-
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 Service Bureau, and the author of
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CORRESPONDENCE

Scope of social security

EDITOR: Recently, when I saw Father Conway at Colgate University, he called my attention to the editorial in the July 15 issue of AMERICA, reviewing your position on various proposals now before the American people. Many of these proposals fall within the general area of interest of the Agency I head, and it is refreshing to read so interesting and thoughtful a statement of views which are couched in considered terms that call for unreserved respect, even though I do not fully agree with one or two of them.

In recent months, I have become increasingly aware of a certain amount of misunderstanding, in Catholic and other circles, as to my own views on the scope of Federal responsibility in the field of human welfare.

The Federal Security Agency bears the principal responsibilities of the Federal Government in such fields as health, education and social security, and undoubtedly there is room for legitimate discussion concerning the relationship between these governmental responsibilities and those assumed by voluntary organizations, both secular and religious.

My own view is that, in general, the Federal Government should encourage non-governmental individuals or organizations to carry on all the activities in these fields that they are willing to assume and that government should only step in to carry out responsibilities that non-governmental individuals and organizations cannot or will not undertake.

Again, heartiest congratulations on your editorial. We need a lot more of this same clear thinking.

OSCAR R. EWING

Federal Security Administrator
Washington, D. C.

Fears the road ahead

EDITOR: In reply to the Rev. George G. Higgins (AM. 7/29/50, p. 452), I would say that many of us are wringing our hands as we contemplate the rising national debt and the increased deficit spending. Our fears for the future are not allayed by telling us that the debt doesn't mean anything since we owe it to ourselves.

We also wonder about these "fresh approaches" to the "new social order" (socialism) and wonder who is going to pay for it all.

We grow more fearful as we contemplate the scene, shocked by wisecracks and smart sayings from persons who should know better.

LEO F. McANDREWS, M.D.

Bryn Mawr, Pa.

A-bomb over Manhattan

EDITOR: Congratulations to your magazine and Edward A. Conway for the thought-provoking article "A-bomb over Manhattan" (AM. 7/22/50). It is long past the time when the people should be told the truth about what may happen should another war occur. Only then will the average citizen be in a position to assume the tremendous responsibilities which will undoubtedly be thrust upon him should war strike within our own borders.

I am sure that many of us, like myself, who are concerned about civil defense, find some degree of consolation in the knowledge that there are Fr. Conways around who think and speak with clarity and logic on a problem of utmost importance to national security.

MURRAY S. LEVINE

New York, N. Y.

EDITOR: This is to thank you for the article on what to do when the bomb hits. I enjoyed the piece as a fine example of how the English language can look when artistically put together, and I appreciate it also as a public service. As a public service, however, there's one point I want cleared up. The instructions say that I should go to the nearest water's edge and wait to be picked up by a scow or a barge or a boat of some kind.

Now, the nearest water's edge to me is the East River. The only scows, barges or boats of any kind on the East River are all entitled the "John J. Callahan," the "Frank Moran," the "Joseph J. Burns," the "Kathleen Kelly" and the "Thomas X. Fitzgerald." Obviously all Catholic boats. With such a set-up—and here is the point I want cleared up—what chance is a childless, Protestant woman going to have of being picked up? I mention childless because, I figure, a woman with children might have a chance on the grounds that the Church could get at the children; she could get aboard in a kind of ecclesiastical package deal. At the present writing it would seem to me that my best bet is to join up right now with Jehovah's Witnesses over in Jersey and go West with one of them.

NETTIE MCK.

New York, N. Y.

AMERICA receives many long communications which the Editors are unable to publish for lack of space. So that more of our readers may have an opportunity to express their views, we urge correspondents to make their letters as short as possible. Communications of 250 words or less are preferred.—THE EDITOR.